

Message Text

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NODIS

CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM SCHAUFLE

E.O. 11YTW: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, RH, WA

SUBJ: MEETING WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA

1. LOW AND I MET WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA, CHONA, AND ACTING FONMIN PAUL LUSAKA FOR AN HOUR AND THEN CONTINUED OUR CONVERSATION OVER DINNER. WE GAVE THE PRESIDENT YOUR LETTER AND MESSAGE AND I REVIEWED THE TALKINT POINTS MORE OR LESS AS I HAD WITH NYERERE YESTERDAY.

2. KAUNDA WAS IN AN OPTIMISTIC BUT NO NONSENSE MOOD. HE SAID HE HAD NO ROMANTIC VIEWS ABOUT THE SITUATION. THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS HAD DECIDED TO INTENSIFY THE ARMED STRUGGLE AS THE ONLY WAY OUT. HE QUALIFIED THIS QUICKLY, HOWEVER, BY SAYING THAT IF YOU THOUGHT THE DISCUSSIONS WOULD BEAR FRUIT, HE WAS READY AND WILLING TO COOPERATE IN ACHIEVING THE SAME GOALS THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS. IF YOU BELIEVE YOU SHOULD COME TO AFRICA TO ACHIEVE THESE GOALS, THEN YOU ARE WELCOME. THE ONLY QUALIFICATION HE MADE WAS THE SAME HE RAISED WITH ROGERS AND ME LAST TIME -- THAT HE WAS NOT PREPARED TO REPEAT LAST YEAR'S MISTAKE WHEN HE HAD AGREED TO A CEASEFIRE WHILE THE TALKS WERE GOING ON. THIS ONLY SERVED TO GIVE SMITH TIME TO RE-GROUP.

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3. KAUNDA WAS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE POSSIBILITIES OF COOPERATION AMONG THE RHODESIAN NATIONALIST GROUPS. WHEN HE LEFT DAR THINGS WERE DEVELOPING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION, HE SAID. HE HAD NOT HEARD FROM NKOMO WHO RETURNED TO LUSAKA TODAY BUT HE BELIEVED THAT THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP WAS READY TO COOPERATE UNDER ANC, WHICH IS THE POSITION TAKEN BY OAU.

4. ON NAMIBIA, KAUNDA SAID HE CONTINUED TO BE OPTIMISTIC. SWAPO IS REASONABLE AND READY TO LISTEN. ONCE IT IS FIXED THAT A MEETING WILL TAKE PLACE THEY WILL GO TO IT. HE WAS PREPARED TO URGE THAT THE TALKS BEGIN AND UNRESOLVED MATTERS BE TAKEN UP IN THE COURSE OF THEM RATHER THAN CONSTITUTE PRECONDITIONS TO THEM. I SAID THAT WE WERE ALMOST CERTAIN WE COULD GET SOUTH AFRICA'S AGREEMENT ON THE THREE POINTS OF MOVING THE MEETING TO GENEVA, SWAPO PARTICIPATION, AND A FIXED DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE, ADDING THAT WE WERE WILLING TO PASS TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS A LIST OF THE PRISONERS WHICH SWAPO WISHES TO HAVE RELEASED. IT WAS LEFT THAT KAUNDA WOULD REQUEST SUCH A LIST FROM SWAPO AND PASS IT TO LOW FOR THIS PURPOSE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

5. I TRIED TO DRAW KAUNDA OUT ON THE SITUATION AMONG THE NATIONALIST GROUPS. HE SAID HE FELT TRIBALISM WAS BECOMING MUCH LESS OF A FACTOR AND NOTED THAT 95 PERCENT OF THE LEADERSHIP OF NKOMO'S ZAPU WAS MADE UP OF SHONA TRIBESMEN (NKOMO HIMSELF IS NDEBELE AND HAS ALWAYS BEEN THOUGHT OF AS DERIVING MOST OF HIS STRENGTH FROM THAT GROUP WHICH RIVALS THE SHONA). MUZOREWA HAD ACKNOWLEDGED THE STRONG SUPPORT NKOMO HAS WITHIN RHODESIA. THE FIGHTING FORCES WILL BE ORGANIZED UNDER ZIPA AND THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP UNDER THE ANC WITH THE FORMER COOPERATING WITH THE LATTER. KAUNDA SAID HE WAS MORE HOPEFUL THAN HE HAD BEEN FOR A LONG TIME OVER THE POSSIBILITY OF COOPERATION. AFTER ALL, ZIPA DEPENDED ON THE FRONTLINE STATES.

6. THE ZAMBIANS WERE ALL CURIOUS ABOUT THE SOUTH AFRICANS' GENERAL ATTITUDE IN ZURICH AND DID NOT SEEM
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SURPRISED WHEN I SAID THAT THE DISCUSSIONS WERE DIFFICULT AND THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS RELUCTANT TO MAKE CONCESSIONS UNTIL THEY THOUGHT AGREEMENT WOULD EMERGE. THE ZAMBIANS WANTED TO KNOW HOW FAST WE THOUGHT WE COULD MOVE IN RHODESIA AND MENTIONED A REPORT THAT SMITH HAD A MAJOR MEETING WITH HIS PARTY LEADERSHIP SCHEDULED FOR THE END OF NEXT WEEK AT ABOUT THE SAME TIME YOU WILL BE IN LUSAKA AND PRETORIA AND AFTER HE SEES VORSTER.

7. KAUNDA WILL BE AT A PARTY CONFERENCE UP COUNTRY FROM THE 13TH TO THE 25TH BUT WILL BE AVAILABLE TO RETURN TO LUSAKA -- A 20-MINUTE HELICOPTER RIDE -- TO MEET YOU AT ANY TIME THAT SUITS YOUR CONVENIENCE (EXCEPT THE 14TH AND 19TH). HE NODDED AGREEMENT TO MY SUGGESTION THAT HE AND NYERERE CONSULT ON A SINGLE MEETING LOCATION AND AUTHORIZED NEGOTIATOR AFTER PRETORIA IF THAT BECOMES NECESSARY.

8. COMMENT: KAUNDA WAS OBVIOUSLY TIRED (THIS MAY BE A MINOR PROBLEM WHEN HE IS IN MIDDLE OF PARTY CONFERENCE NEXT WEEK) BUT I WAS INTERESTED THAT HE EVEN MORE OPTIMISTIC THAN NYERERE. (DAR 3302 RECEIVED AFTER MEETING.) HE IS STILL SOMEWHAT MORE RESERVED THAN NYERERE TOWARD THIS EXERCISE, NOT BECAUSE HE OPPOSES IT BUT PROBABLY BECAUSE HE DOES NOT WANT TO GET HIS HOPES TOO HIGH. I BELIEVE HE WILL BE AS HELPFUL AS HE CAN SO LONG AS NO MAJOR COMMITMENT IS INVOLVED. IF SUCCESSFUL MOMENTUM IS GENERATED, HIS ENTHUSIASM AND ASSISTANCE WILL BE CORRESPONDINGLY GREATER.

9. IF, FOR INSTANCE, NKOMO BECOMES STUMBLING BLOCK AS IMPLIED IN DAR 3302 AND SOME INTELLIGENCE REPORTS, KAUNDA IS OUTSIDER MOST LIKELY TO HAVE INFLUENCE NECESSARY TO BUDGE HIM.
LOW

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